1: Holmberg--4-6 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 101, 175, 131

"The area of Bolivia inhabited by the Siriono is situated in the Departments of the Beni and Santa Cruz. It is roughly bounded on the north by the island forests, lying just south of the villages of Magdalena, Huacaraje, and Baures; on [6] the south, by the Franciscan Missions of Guarayos; on the east, by the Rio San Martín; and on the west, by the Rio Grande and Rio Mamoré. Within this extensive area the Siriono have lived and wandered in isolated pockets since the first European contact with them in 1693."

"Our previous knowledge of the Siriono, which is very scanty, dates from 1693, when they were first seen for a few days by Father Cyprian Barrace. (3) At that time the

3. All that is recorded of Father Barrace's contact with the Siriono is the following: 'It was not long before the holy man discovered another nation. After traveling some days he found himself amidst a people called the Cirionians. The instant these barbarians perceived the Father, they took up their arrows and prepared to shoot both at him and at the converts in his company, but Father Cyprian advanced up to them with so kind an aspect that their arrows dropped from their hands. He made some stay with them; and, by visiting their various settlements, discovered another nation called the Guarayans' (Lettres édifiantes. . . ., 1781, vol. 8. p. 105).

Siriono were occupying the deep forests in the southern part of the same region which they inhabit today. After first contact, and before their expulsion in 1767, the Jesuits probably made several attempts to missionize them. At any rate, in 1765 a few Siriono were coaxed into the mission of Buena Vista and were later transferred to the mission of Santa Rosa on the Rio Guaporé. So far as we know, no other attempt was made to missionize them until comparatively recent times. Of these endeavors most have failed,

not so much because of warlikeness, since this character has been falsely attributed to the Siriono, but because of their sensitivity to maltreatment and their adherence to nomadic life.

In 1927, decimated by smallpox and influenza, a small group of Siriono was settled at the Franciscan Mission of Santa María near the Rio San Miguel. This venture did not result in success. In 1941 I met many Indians in the forests between Tibaera and Yaguarú who had formerly been living in Santa María but who had reverted to a nomadic existence because of what they regarded as unsatisfactory conditions of life at the mission. In 1935 American evangelists founded a mission for the Siriono at the site of an old Mojo mound called Ibiato, some 60 miles east of Trinidad. By 1940 this mission had a population of about 60 Indians, but it, also, could not be called a successful undertaking, because of lack of funds and trained personnel."

"Alcide d'Orbigny, the great French scientist and explorer, was the first writer of any importance to mention the Siriono. In 1825 he had an opportunity to study a few captured Siriono at Bibosi, a mission north of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Since D'Orbigny's remarks on the Siriono were the first of any significance ever to be published, I quote them in extenso:

> Less numerous than the Guarayos, the Siriono live in the heart of dark forests which separate the Rio Grande from the Rio Piráy, between Santa Cruz de la Sierra and the Province of Moxos; from 17° to 18° south latitude and about 68° longitude west of Paris. The Siriono inhabit a large area although, according to many captives from this tribe whom we have seen at the mission of Bibosi, near Santa Cruz, their number hardly reaches 1,000 individuals.
>
> No historian has spoken of them; their name appears only in Jesuit letters. According to the information we obtained in the country, the Sitiono are perhaps the remains of the ancient Chiriguanos, having since the conquest always inhabited the same forests. Attacked by the Inca Yupanqui about the fifteenth century, they were forced at the beginning of the sixteenth century to flee from the Guaranis of Paraguay who captured their settlements and, according to historians, annihilated them. Be [10] that as it may, it is possible that the Siriono, well before

the Chiriguanos, had come from the southeast and had migrated into areas far distant from the cradle of the Guarani nation.

The Siriono live under the same conditions as the Guarayos and have about the same color, stature, and fine proportions, judging from the few we have seen. In general, their features are the same, but they have a more savage appearance, a fearful and cold expression which is never encountered among the Guarayos. Since they have the custom of depilating their hair we cannot say whether they have as bushy a beard as the Guarayos.

We have been assured that their language is Guarani, but corrupted to the extent that they cannot understand the Chiriguanos perfectly. As to their personality, it differs essentially from that of the Guarayos; they are so savage and hold so strongly to their primitive independence that they have never wanted to have contact with Christians. No one has been able to approach them unarmed. Their forebears were gentle and affable, but these are less communicative. They live in scattered tribes which wander deep into the most impenetrable forests and live only by hunting. They build rude huts formed of boughs and know no other comforts of life; everything indicates that they live in the most

savage state. They have no other industry than the making of weapons. These consist of bows eight feet long and arrows even longer which they most often use seated, both the feet and hands being employed to shoot with great force; thus they are obliged to hunt only big game. Both sexes go entirely nude, with no clothing to burden them. They do not paint their bodies and wear no ornaments. On their trips they do not use canoes. If they have a river to cross they cut liana which they attach to a tree or to stakes placed for that purpose on the banks of the river. They wind the liana around the tree trunks resting in the water, thus forming a kind of bridge which the women cling to in crossing with their children. Whenever they get the opportunity they attack the canoes of the Moxos and kill the rowers to obtain axes or other tools. This is all we have learned about this tribe, without doubt the most savage of the nation [D'Orbigny, 1839, trans., pp. 341-344]."

1. Holmberg--10 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 175, 114

"José Cardus was the next writer of any significance to deal with the Siriono. In his book on the Franciscan Missions of eastern Bolivia (Cardus, 1886, pp. 279-284) he devoted about 5 pages to a description of the condition and culture of the Siriono in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Following Cardus, Nordenskiöld (1911, pp. 16-17) interviewed two Siriono on his 1908-9 expedition to eastern Bolivia, and on the strength of this published a 2-page article about them which, however, contains very scanty data. In 1910 Theodor Herzog (1910, pp. 136-138, 194-200) published a short account of the geography of the area which also embodies a few notes on the Indians. In 1928 Arthur Radwan (1929, pp. 291-296) wrote a brief description of Siriono culture which deals primarily with their contacts with the Franciscan fathers at Santa María."

1: Holmberg--10 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 175, 114

"Some years ago, considerable stir was caused in the anthropological world by the publication of a series of articles and books by Richard Wegner (1928, pp. 369-384; 1931; 1932, pp. 321-340; 1934 b, pp. 2-34) on a month's journey to the Siriono country—to the Siriono between the Rio Piray and Rio Grande and to those of the Mission of Santa María. In his various articles and books Wegner claimed to have discovered a primitive group of Siriono which he called Quruñgu'a, who possessed no language but whistling. Although this statement is patently absurd—I, too, have been with groups of Siriono who were uncommunicative for long periods of time—it should be pointed out that Wegner's observations on the material culture, although not outstanding, are fairly accurate. However, his statements about language (or its lack), group classification, religion, and other subjects do not check with my findings, nor with those of the Franciscan monk, Anselm Schermair (1934, pp. 519-521), who has written a brief article refuting the claims made by Wegner. My own data substantially agree with those of Padre Schermair, in so far as he has published them. For many years this Franciscan father has been collecting a vocabulary of the Siriono language, but his works have never been published. They will be awaited with great interest."

1: Holmberg--10 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 175, 114

"In 1937 Stig Rydén spent 3 weeks collecting ethnological specimens and interviewing Indians at Casarabe. His results have been recently published (Rydén, 1941). Although the descriptions of his material collections are accurate enough. Rydén's statements about the non-material aspects of culture are mostly inaccurate because he was probably deceived by staff members of the school at Casarabe into recording false information about the Indians. Moreover, lacking adequate primary data, Rydén padded his work with irrelevant speculations and comparisons which are largely meaningless for the reconstruction of Siriono history.

Finally, it should be mentioned that most of the extant data on the Siriono were admirably summed up by Alfred Métraux in 1942 (Métraux, 1942, pp. 110-114)."

3: Métraux --110 (no date) 1942 Siriono
116, 101, 175

"The Siriono (Chori), the least known of all eastern Bolivian tribes, were not observed by a trained anthropologist until Allan Holmberg visited them in 1940-1941. Judging by their number, these elusive Indians occupied an enormous area. Their easternmost groups wandered along the middle and lower course of the Ichilo, Chaparé, and Chimoré Rivers. They extended west to the Rio Grande (Guapay River) and were scattered from the Rio Grande to the San Miguel River in the vicinity of the Franciscan missions. They were found near Torno Largo and Bibosi on the Mamoré River. Siriono have also been seen near Carmen and Baurés on the Rio Blanco; some of their bands lived near the Machupo River and along the course of the lower Guaporé River."

3: Métraux--110-111 (no date) 1942 Siriono
116, 101, 175

"Wegner (1934, p. 5) states that the Rio Grande and Mamoré River Siriono called themselves Ñeoze-née, and names other groups in the same region the Tirinié and Jandé. He (1929-1932, pp. 321-329) [111] makes the surprising statement that among the Siriono, near Cuatro Ojos, between the Oiray River and the Rio Grande, there lived an extremely primitive race, the Quruñgu'á, who differed from the Siriono in physical appearance, but probably not in culture, and who were so low in the evolutionary scale or so degenerate that they even lacked an articulate language!"

3: Métraux--111 (no date) 1942 Siriono
116, 175

"The Siriono are mentioned for the first time in Lettres édifiantes. . . (1781, p. 105). In 1693, Father Barrace spent some days among them. A few years before the expulsion of the Jesuits, one of them, Father Jurado, found near the Mission of San Joseph de Buenavista a party of Siriono with whom he conversed in Guaraní. A few Siriono stayed at the Mission of Buenavista, but in 1765 were transferred to the Mission of Santa Rosa together with Guarayú Indians. During the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, the Siriono had friendly contacts with the Guarayú, but peace was broken at a feast and the two tribes have waged bitter war against each other ever since. The Siriono were greatly feared by the Whites and Indians of Bolivia, but most of their raids were to avenge the slaughter of which they were the victims. After 1925, apparently decimated by epidemics, many Siriono came in touch with the Franciscan missionaries and settled at the Mission station of Santa Maria. In the last 10 years they have been pushed northward by the Yaniagua (Tapiete) and perhaps also by the Tsirakua, who had migrated north as a consequence of the Chaco war. Three hundred Siriono were recently settled near Trinidad under the supervision of a government school."